FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist; and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. VI. NO. 50 SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1900. WHOLE NO. 290.

THE WORD OF COMMAND.

Go—get you forth to labor in field and mill and mine—
I want coals to keep my fire—I want grain and fruit and wine;
I must have my coach and steppers and the finest clothes to wear—
It's your privilege to serve me—I'm a Multi-Millionaire!

There were serfs in all the ages; we must have serfs today,
To bear their master's burdens along his chosen way,
Hush, then, your puny protest, for who will list or care?
I need all your toil can bring me—I'm a Multi-Millionaire!

Get down into the earth-pits, ye tiring, troubling slaves.
Death-breeding damps—what matter? cheap things are paupers' graves,
And cheap the herds in waiting to take your places there—
I can't be bothered this way—I'm a Multi-Millionaire!

My hunters in the highlands are calling me to come,
My castle doors and windows are alight from base to dome,
And all this autumn weather we are blithe and debonair—
Ply well the pick and shovel for the Multi-Millionaire!

It takes the toil of many to keep ONE living fine,
So get you without parley to field and mill and mine;
I own the earth's productions, to divide as I think fair,
And there's no law for methods of a Multi-Millionaire!

E. C. T. in San Francisco Star.

THE POLITICAL MUDDLE.

The political situation this year is more complex than ever before in the history of the country. The *reductio ad absurdum* of political action has at last been reached. Never before were so many "paramount issues" presented to confuse the voter. Never were so many conventions held, or so many party tickets placed in the field. No less than twelve national conventions have met, and nominated ten distinct tickets. Still another ticket was nominated without a convention, by referendum vote. Eight of these eleven tickets remain in the field, with some changes in the names of candidates. Besides this, there are many other factions, seeking to exert a powerful influence over the policies of the larger parties. In striking contrast to this confused tangle, stands the Anarchist's simple and logical demand for liberty and individual initiative, under which nine-tenths of these vexed questions will completely disappear, and the rest find a ready solution, at the hands of free men and women. Realizing this, thousands of clear-headed men, even though not full-fledged Anarchists, will stay away from the polls this year. A mere statement of the conglomeration of parties and influences in the field is itself argument enough to disillusionize the few Anarchists and many semi-Anarchists, who have cherished fond dreams of reform through the ballot. The statement shall be as unimpassioned and free from bias as possible.

The Republican Party has apparently the best chance of election. Its general attitude is that of conservatism; and the greater number of the large capitalists of the country are in its ranks. Its candidates are William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt. The platform declares that that unparallelled prosperity has been secured through Republican rule, endorses the gold standard, the protective tariff, liberal pension laws, civil service reform, territorial expansion, and many minor issues. It favors an isthmian canal to be owned by the government, and legislation to prevent abuses on the part of "conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business." The main text of its orators is "the full dinner pail," which they explain to mean abundant employment for the working class, with good pay, claiming that this condition exists today, but will be seriously jeopardized, in case of Democratic success.

The Democrats have nominated William J. Bryan and Adlai E. Stevenson. Their platform denounces Republican perfidy in Porto Rico and Cuba, and the war in the Philippine Islands, as well as militarism and trusts. It declares for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one, election of United States Senators by popular vote, a Department of Labor, liberal pensions, Chinese exclusion laws, the Nicaragua canal, and the abolition of government by injunction. Its speakers dwell mainly on the subjects of trusts, militarism, and imperialism.

The Anti-Imperialists also endorse Bryan and Stevenson. Their platform deals solely with the subject of expansion; and to this their supporters confine their attention.

The Silver Republicans endorse the Democratic ticket. Their platform covers largely the same ground as that of the Democrats, but gives special emphasis to the demand for a bimetallic currency. Its speakers follow the lines of the Democratic orators.

The People's Party is divided into two factions of about equal strength. The fusion wing endorses the Democratic candidates. Its platform declares for the free coinage of silver, the substitution of legal tender greenbacks for national bank notes, direct legistation, government ownership of railroads, abolition of tariffs on trust products, municipal ownership of public utilities, and other propositions, and denounces trusts, imperialism, and government by injunction.

The Middle of the Road Populists have nominated Wharton Barker and Ignatius Donnelly. They declare that future nominations shall be made by referendum vote. Their platform declares for the initiative, referendum, and imperative mandate, public ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, coal mines, and the like, prohibition of alien ownership of land, legal tender paper money, with free silver as a temporary expedient, a graduated income tax, and direct election by the people of president, vice-president, federal judges, and United States Senators.

The candidates of the Prohibition Party are John G. Woolley and Henry B. Metcalf. Their platform recognizes God as the source of government, advocates religious legislation, denounces the present administration for complicity with the saloon, and announces the prohibition of the liquor traffic as the sole paramount issue.

The Social Democratic Party has nominated Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman. Its platform declares for the acquisition of power by the working-class, and the establishment of a co operative commonwealth. As intermediate steps, it proposes woman suffrage, public ownership of means of transportation and communication, mines, and other public utilities, reduction of the hours of labor, public works for the employment of the unemployed, rewards for inventions and the abolition of patent rights, direct legislation, and similar measures.

The Socialist Labor Party has split. One division endorses the Social Democratic ticket, and accepts its platform. The other branch, composed of those known as De Leonites, after their most conspicuous leader, has nominated Joseph F. Malloney and Valentine Remmell. They have adopted no new platform, and recognize no special issues, apart from the conquest of power by a class-conscious proletarian party, and the establishment of an industrial government, along the rigid lines of Marxian Socialism.

The Union Reform Party, by referendum vote, has nominated Seth H. Ellis and Samuel T. Nicholson. Its platform declares only for direct legislation through the initiative and referendum.

The candidates of the United Christian Party are J. F. R. Leonard and D. H. Martin. Its platform declares for a Christian constitution, direct legislation, international arbitration, the prohibition of the liquor traffic and of cigarette sales to minors, Sunday laws and the abolition of "unscriptural" marriage and divorce, the daily reading of the Bible in all public schools and State institutions, and in general for a union of Church and State.

The National Party nominated candidates, who have withdrawn. It is now announced that its policy will be to nominate one unpledged elector in each State, as a protest against both Bryan and McKinley. This is the Gold Democratic Party of four years ago. Its platform declares against imperialism, for a gold standard, for civil service reform, and against "all corrupting special privileges."

Besides the formal political parties, there are many political influences, which control large numbers of votes, and to which those parties which really wish to succeed are compelled to cater. Most conspicuous among these are the Single Taxers, who will mostly vote for Bryan; the Woman Suffragists, who are divided in sentiment, and many of whom will vote the various minority tickets; the G. A. R., whose members are chiefly Republicans; the remnants of the A. P. A., who are largely supporting McKinley; the anti-negro and anti-Chinese elements, which are mainly Democratic, and various others. Many naturalized citizens are appealed to by special influences. The British-Americans seem inclined to vote for McKinley, the Irish-Americans for Bryan, and the German-Americans to be about evenly divided.

Of fully equal importance is the personal element. Not only are all these factions to be placated; but the big boss, the little boss, the ward heeler, the horde of office-seekers, and of ambitious "statesmen," and the long train of purely venal voters, must be appealed to, by the side that is to win. The balance of power is unquestionably held by the distinctly corrupt influences. The party that wins will come into power handicapped by so many promises and pledges to individuals and cliques, that it can by no possibility act freely in the interests of the whole people.

It is idle to attempt a forecast of the exact result. My personal opinion is that McKinley will be re-elected, although by a much smaller plurality than before. I do not think he will receive a majority of all votes cast. Many will not vote at all; and the various minority parties will draw enormously from Bryan.

The farce is before you. Will you stultify yourself, by taking part in it? JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

CONCENTRATION OF ANARCHIST FORCES.

From a recent chat with Chicago comrades about renewed agitation and plans for spreading our ideas, it appeared to me that a good deal more propaganda could be made if the most able and energetic comrades, now scattered over the continent, would combine and concentrate in one large city, somewhat in the center of the States, say Chicago. If, for instance, Free Society were published in Chicago, and a dozen of our best speakers and writers, now in various cities and towns, would consent to make Chicago their home, it would be an advantage for the whole movement. A paper published in Chicago would reach the readers sooner; and articles, as well as general correspondence, would not be delayed to the extent it is now. Lecturers could more easily visit other cities, and having a paper and lecturers more handy, and in the neighborhood where the majority of comrades live, (the East) a greater activity would be the result. The question of having a lecturer all the year round in the field, who perhaps could also act as collector for the paper, could probably be solved with many other questions at a national conference of comrades, during a G. A. R. encampment, when railroad rates are cut to one half of regular price.

Of course, able and active comrades are needed in places where they live now as badly as anywhere else; yet, to begin with building up a grand and strong movement, I think the concentration of the Anarchist forces a necessity. CARL NOLD.

In San Francisco.

Socialists and Anarchists will unite in a Memorial Meeting, November 11, in honor of the Chicago martyrs. Emil Liess will lecture in German, and James F. Morton, Jr. in English. Music will be furnished by the Deutsche Freie Gemeinde and the Socialist Maenner-Chor. All friends of liberty are urged to be present.

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

NOTES.

The Philadelphia comrades set a good example of activity. They are holding open air meetings, and distributing leaflets on the issues of the day. These are not labelled "Anarchy," but are written from an Anarchist standpoint. They are regularly issued as journals, to avoid trouble under the local law, which forbids the distribution of handbills.

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"The king is dead; long live the king!" We have recorded the suspension of Der arme Teufel; but its spirit has passed into Wolfsaugen, announced as "ein Blatt fuer freie Geister." Its scope and quality will commend it to liberty-loving and literature-loving Germans. It is edited by Martin Drescher, late editor of Der arme Teufel, and published at 1351 South 13th St., St. Louis, Mo. The subscription price is $2.50 a year.

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Our comrades in the East will please not forget Emma Goldman's tour. The time to write her is at once. Address her at 50 First St., New York, N. Y.

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CURRENT NEWS.

New York, October 16.—John D. Rockefeller, it is asserted here today, cleared $5,678,000 in six hours yesterday by the rise in Standard Oil stocks. He benefited just $17 on each share; and as he owns 334,000 shares, the amount is easily computed. His dividends thus far this year, at 38 per cent, are more than $11,000,000.

The stock of the Standard Oil Company reached the highest price in its history. It opened at $566 per share, and sold up to $583, breaking all records. Its strength was due to a report that the next dividend on the stock would be at the rate of twelve per cent for the quarter, making a total for the year of fifty per cent.—Press Dispatch.

This is the reward of parasitism in the land of "the full dinner-pail." The reward of the labor which produced the value of all these millions, is yet to come.

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Prince Ching of China has had a taste of European and American courtesy. The representatives of the Powers, which are leagued together to enslave China, had nothing but insults for the one Chinese official, who, at the risk of his own life, has all along been the staunch friend of the foreigners.

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On Sunday, October 21, more than 6,000 presumably "civilized" residents of San Francisco delighted themselves with the brutal sport known as "coursing." The murder of dumb animals may well constitute the ideal recreation of the commercial age. Those who have learned to have no mercy on their fellow-men, can be expected to have little sympathy for the dumb creation. This is a point which never seems to occur to the well-meaning Geo. T. Angell, when, in his ill-chosen and hysterical italics, he pleads the cause of the animals. It is only "a merciful man"—one who is merciful to his fellows—that "is merciful to his beast." If lovers of "our dumb animals" really wish well to their cause, let them strike first at "man's inhumanity to man," and at the social and political system which corrupts and brutalizes human nature.

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The political tussle goes bravely on. Each of the two largest parties has ciphered out a certain victory, and placed, to its own satisfaction, its opponents in a hopless minority. Wharton Barker makes the amusing prediction that his moribund party will poll from half a million to a million votes. The Social Democrats are bragging about a million votes for Debs. The Socialist Labor Party is assured, in its own mind, of an enormous class-conscious vote. The Prohibitionists claim an immense increase over four years ago, when they suffered a severe set-back. The Union Reform Party does not expect a very heavy vote this year, but declares itself to be the coming power, which is destined in the near future to absorb all the others. The United Christian Party is trusting in "the arm of the Lord," but has little hope this year from "the arm of flesh." The National Party has suffered a complete collapse. The political methods of the various parties are malodorous as ever. One must hold his nose, a la Pingree, to vote any ticket.

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In British Columbia, Japanese fishermen have been repeatedly murdered by their white rivals, during the past season. As they were "only Japs," the murderers went unpunished. So commercialism and race hatred combine to make fiends of men.

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The coal miners' strike still drags on, in spite of all talk of a settlement. President Mitchell seems to have vindicated himself completely from all charges of treachery, and to deserve the confidence of the men who have accepted his leadership. The miners are apparently ready to accept a small advance, but insist on some guarantee that they will not have this snatched away from them in a short time. The reluctance of the operators to recognize the union, or to afford security of their good intentions, is clear evidence of their insincerity. May the men stand firm, and not allow themselves to be cheated.

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The Moore case has ended with a complete victory for the defence; and the infamous Comstock laws have received a substantial set-back. Let us hope the Blue Grass Blade will in future stand firmly for the liberty of all.

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DISCORDS.

At heart I am a Freethinker, Socialist and philosophical Anarchist, and although I am opposed to government of all kinds, I can see that it is only a dream which will never materialize, so will use my influence, also my paper, the City Front News, in assisting in electing what I consider the man who will do his duty to his constituents and the general welfare of this country.—City Front News, San Francisco.

Many a "dream" in the past has become a reality, because men and women have worked for what they desired. What men can dream of, that they can bring to pass. It is only the spirit of cowardice, compromise, and desertion, that holds us back. For a man who is "opposed to government" to vote to strengthen it, is to stultify himself, and to help perpetuate the very evils of which he complains.

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Teddy Roosevelt's past sayings are being brought up against him; and he would give a good deal to forget some of them. His infamously false characterization of Thomas Paine as a "filthy little Atheist" is not likely to be soon overlooked by the Freethinkers, the more especially since his attention was personally called to the misrepresentation of which he had been guilty. He promised to investigate the evidence submitted to him, and to correct his statement in accordance with the facts; but he has not had the manhood to keep his word. Another interesting utterance of this refined gentleman relates to his opinion of cowboys. He first thus describes their genial propensities:

When drunk on the villainous whiskey of the frontier towns, they (the cowboys) cut mad antics, riding their horses into the saloons, firing their pistols right and left, from boisterous light-heartedness rather than from any viciousness, and indulging too often in deadly shooting affrays, brought on either by the accidental contact of the moment, or on account of some long-standing grudge.

How this rowdyism and murderous quarrelsomeness appeals to the honorable champion of law and order, is evidenced by his admiring comment:

They are much better fellows and pleasanter companions than small farmers or agricultural laborers; nor are the mechanics and workmen of a great city to be mentioned in the same breath.

After this gratuitous insult to the working classes, he has now the effrontery to seek their support.

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Mr. Winston Churchill is another interesting personality. If we are to have Conservatives in Parliament at all, and of course we *must*, it is a gain to have some of them with the advantage of youth and accessibility to new ideas.—London Freethinker.

Yes, this Winston Churchill has some decidedly "new ideas." One of them is that it is an honorable act for a newspaper correspondent to take part in a South African battle, and when captured, pose as a non-combatant. According to the laws of war and of justice, the wretch should have been shot at once as a spy. Instead of this, the Boers showed a leniency which few civilized nations have ever displayed. The fellow was simply kept in mild confinement, so mild, in fact, that he succeeded in making his escape. His gratitude for the extraordinary mercy shown him was thereupon evinced by a brutal and malignant hatred of the men who had let him live. He has been foremost in the demand that not a vestige of liberty shall remain to the people of South Africa. This sort of viperish baseness is what seems to please the voting slaves of Great Britain, who have elected him to Parl ament. Is it a sample of the "new ideas" which commend themselves to the Freethinker?

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The San Francisco Examiner has many Catholic readers. As a consequence, it has often to wear a muzzle, where honesty would demand plain speaking. It did accidentally tell some plain truths on one occasion, and lost nine thousand subscribers within a week. It immediately fell on its editorial knees, and has never so erred again. This may explain why, having occasion recently to refer to Galileo, it reduces the well-known methods of the Inquisition to "a kind talking to." It is *so* reasonable to believe that the great scientist would be so overcome by the affability of his Holeyness, as to forget the evidence of his telescope and his figures, and give the lie to what he knew to be true! The Examiner is an exceptionally poor authority on history, and evidently a not over-honest one.

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THE GALVESTON TRAGEDY.

Many papers are pointing to the destruction of Galveston, and asking the Christans what their God was about, when this occured.

All this is well enough, perhaps; but for an Anarchist editor to fall in line with the typical bougeois editor in this, seems to me out of place. Comrade Morton, in his article in Free Society of September 23, grows grandiloquent in his treatment of this subject, but entirely overlooks many important facts. He says: "The calamity is one against which human forethought was unable to provide. No man, or body of men, can be held accountable for the disaster."

Not even Ambrose Bierce could frame a "nicer," or more inexcusable excuse for the criminality of the body of men responsible for this appalling loss of life.

Let us look at the facts in the case. A set of shrewd speculators "acquired" a legal title to the sand bar Galveston is situated on, and proceeded to lay out a city plot, advertise and sell lots, build wharfs, etc. They knew that the highest point on the "island" was only nine feet above the water level. They knew that terrific storms swept over the Gulf of Mexico, inundating the lowland along the coast for many miles in; and that their sand bar was not exempt from such inundations.

Comrade Morton seems to have entirely overlooked the "greed for private gain" in the cold-blooded speculators while contemplating the "ghoul" which destitution has made of some of society's outcasts.

The city of Galveston from its founding to date, has ever been subject to destructive storms; but the last happened to be the worst one yet.

Again Comrade Morton writes: "Two sides of human nature always come to light in times like this, when the artificial is stripped away, the elemental passions have full control."

If this is true, and "the pillage of the dead for private gain" denotes an elemental passion, then those who contend for "restraint of the vicious" have the best of the argument, for elemental passions anticede laws; and without "the laws restraining force," would drive men to all manner of acts of violence and crime.

The sentimental gush so prevalent in all the papers about the desecration of the dead, and pillage of the dead is as sickening to me as the pillage itself. It is not so bad to rob a dead person as a live one; for the dead can have no use for that of which they are robbed. The little taken from the dead could only procure a few days food and lodging at best; so the "greed for private gain" in this instance becomes (at most) a misguided struggle for existence, not to be compared with the motives which led to the plotting of the townsite of Galveston, and its constant advertisement and booming, after it had been storm-swept again and again.

Yes it is a hopeful sign, these generous contributions from all over the country, to relieve the suffering of this disaster; but many who contributed would play the part of ghoul, if placed under conditions like those in Galveston. Human nature is monistic, not dualistic, as Comrade Morton indicates; and hungry men lose their sentimentality, when an opportunity to appease their hunger presents itself.

The founding of the city of Galveston, its booming as a commercial centre, and everything connected with its growth and permanency, was done out of greed for private gain, and was as criminal as would be the

laying out of a city on a smoldering volcano, and the allurement of victims into it. Human forethought was able to provide against this disaster, by placing the cotton shipping wharves in some spot safe from such storms. If you say no such spot exists on the Texas coast, I say ship the cotton to New Orleans. But commercial and speculative greed must ever find ways for rapid and enormous gains, regardless of the number of victims necessitated thereby.

"The unchained tiger is let loose; and who shall expect him to bear himself otherwise than as the beast society has made of him?" asks Comrade Morton. The ordinary editor says "the beast he is," and adds "unless held in check by the strong arm of the law;" and acting on that a soldier boasted that he only had fifteen cartridges when he went on night patrol; and *each one got a man*, because he like Comrade Morton, looked upon these men who were "pillaging the dead for private gain," as "ghouls" and "beasts," and yet, to me, that soldier was much more of a *beast* than any of his victims.

Let us look the facts in the face, and not be afraid of logical conclusions.

There was no reason for the founding of Galveston, but speculation. There was no reason for continuing it, after its waterfront had repeatedly been damaged by storms, but greed of private gain. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that many of the pillagers were men grown desperate from privation and only saw in it a hope of temporary relief from their sufferings. HENRY ADDIS.

COMMENT.

Comrade Addis seems to be so anxious to find fault with something, that he must needs pick out a few sentences, apart from their context, and miss the entire trend of the article in question. His screed, therefore, demands little attention. Much of it, although in the form of an attack, is in substance a mere reiteration of the points I had already made. As to the remainder, a few lines will suffice, since I propose to propose to ignore the personalities, which do him iittle credit.

Anarchy is a well-grounded philosophy, based on social, economic, and historical facts. It does not need to play the part of a scolding old woman, on every conceivable occasion. We are not so deficient in evidence of the criminality of the capitalist system, that we need to hold it accountable for every great convulsion in nature. The people of Galveston might have taken greater precautions; but they could not have foreseen or prevented the tidal wave. It was an unsafe place on which to build; but it is in human nature to take risks, especially when the danger appears somewhat remote. Commercial greed accentuates, but does not create this tendency.

As to the "elemental passions," the misrepresentation is too gross to require refutation, except by quoting a few lines from the original article:

> In a regime which exalts private property as the main object of existence, why should not the dead yield up their treasures to the living, who alone have need of them? Why should we, whose whole civilization is based on the lust for gold, shudder at the ghoul who plunders the dead, to satisfy his greed? It is the law of commercialism that the weak shall give way to the strong, the simple to the clever, the straightforward to the crafty. With such principles instilled into them from childhood, taught to regard their fellowmen as rivals and enemies, what marvel that in such hours of great convulsions, when it is no longer necessary to keep up appearances, men throw the mask aside? The unchained tiger is let loose; and who shall expect him to bear himself otherwise than as the beast society has made of him?

The whole article must, however, be read, in order to perceive how grossly its meaning has been distorted. Let it be well understood that we can fight capitalism, and fight it to the death, without holding it responsible for the Charlestown earthquake, Vesuvius eruptions, or Kansas cyclones.

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THE MONEY-MAKING MACHINE.

A superlatively bad man; a robber of labor, a wholesale murderer, a king, exclaimed many centuries ago, "O Lord our Lord, what is man that thou art mindful of him?"

Nineteen centuries of superstition, called for a purpose Christianity, enables us to answer the question without a moment's hesitation. Man is nothing but a money-making machine; and David's Lord does not care a dameon about him. The land-lords, the money-lords, and the profit-lords are mindful of men as so many cogs in the wheel that grinds out dollars, just so much and nothing more. They teach Labor to to be content with the position in which god gold has been pleased to place him; and the fools accept their doctrines; so the "lords" proceed to take away the dollar from him that hath but one and give it to him that hath ten million, in accordance with Biblical ethics. "Take therefore the dollar from him, and give it unto him that hath ten million. For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance; but from him that hath not much shall be taken away even that which he hath." Thus we see that trusts are the Lord's own appointing

There is but one question before the world today—money, and the sole purpose of Churchianity and superstition is to maintain a governing class, and by chicanery and cajolery compel the only useful class—Labor—to submit to be robbed, so that the worse than useless class may live in idle luxury.

If Debs, Bryan and McKinley are unable to govern themselves, they are certainly not fit persons to govern others; the fact of their being church-members proves their inability to govern themselves; for they thus place themselves under the direction or government of some parasite, who makes a pretence of being a guide to heaven or a protector from hell fire. Parsons carry on this business by the combination scheme of credit and cash, but we notice when the cash part falls off, they are apt to leave the spiritual business for that of real estate agent or insurance solicitor, both of which are also parasitical and pharisaical, thus retaining the old association of earth, heaven, and fire, so that the break is not abrupt or sudden, or extreme as at first sight appears; and of course the ultimate aim is the same, the only question of the age—money.

The glorious system of stars for the police and stripes for, and robbery of the workers has made such progress that ninety-seven per cent of the men of the United States, who have reached the age of sixty, are reduced to the grade of paupers, dependent on their families, friends, or the kind public who are taxed for their maintenance. O Devil our Devil, deliver us from such Christian civilization. KINGHORN-JONES.

San Francisco.

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THE PARIS CONGRESS.

The subjects for discussion were as follows: Communism and Anarchism.—Communism and Individualism.—Organization Between the Anarchist-Communistic Groups of the Same Country, and Foreign Countries, for the Purpose of Organization, an International Bureau of Correspondence, Each Group Retaining its Absolute Autonomy.—The General Strike.—The Attitude of Communist-Anarchists towards anti-Semitism, Zionism, Tolstoism, Co-operation and Neo-co-operation.—The Sex Question.—Woman Suffrage.—Different Means of Propaganda.—The Position of Anarchist-Communists towards War, Riots, and Insurrections.—Formation of Groups for Mutual Aid and the Practice of Solidarity.—The Publication of an International Magazine.—The Land Question.—The Tactics of Social Democrats, Including all Factions of the Parliamentary Parties, towards Anarchists.

All these subjects were discussed among the Anarchists the world over, and opinions and reports sent in by groups and individuals who could not attend the Congress.

The following reports were sent in: The present State o Our Movement in Different Countries.-A Short History of the Movement in America, by Wm. Holmes.—The History of the Jewish Movement in America, by Dr. M. Cohn.—The State of the Movement at Present, by James F. Morton, Jr.—The Movement in Philadelphia, by Voltairine de Cleyre.—The Movement in Denver, by Lizzie M. Holmes.—The Movement in Providence, by J. H. Cook.—An Essay on the Effects on the Movement of the Judicial Murder of Our Comrades in Chicago, by Lizzie M. Holmes.—A Report from St. Louis, by the International Association of Machinists.—A Report on the Ways and Means to Arrange Successful Propaganda-tours through the States, by E. G.—Report of the Movement in Argentine and Uruguay.—Report on the French Workingmen's Party, by Gustave Lefrancais.—Report of the Group Social, from Espinal, France.—Report on the Movement in Italy.—Report on the Movement in Switzerland, by the Revolutionists of Lausanne.—Reports on the Movement in Norway, Holland, Greece, etc.—Anarchism and the Church, by Elisee Reclus.—The Revenge of Society, So-called Justice.—Essay on Organization, by the Students of the University *De la Nature*.—Evolution of Socialist Parties, by the Group Freedom, London.—Essay on small Industries in England. by Peter Kropotkin.—Essays on Communism and Anarchism, by Peter Kropotkin, and others.—Essay on Communism and Individualism.—Different Ways of Propaganda in Trade Unions, by different authors.—The Propaganda through Literature and the Stage.—Propaganda by throwing Protest Ballots, a Report expressing hostile Views towards It, by Italian Comrades.—Report on the Formation of Funds for the Liberation of Imprisoned Comrades, and International Resistance in Case of Lockouts, by E. V.—Essay on the Unemployed and their Part in the Social Movement, and the Means of the Struggle, by the Group Equals of Jura, Zwitzerland.—Essays on Anarchistic Education, by different authors.—Essay on Responsibility and Solidarity, by M. Netlau.—The Woman Question and Woman's Co-Education, by the Students E. S. R. I. and the Bronze Worker's Union.—Essays on the Sex Question, by Kate Austin, Viroqua Daniels, S. D., H. Addis, James F. Morton, Jr., E. G., Paul Rolien, and others.—Reports on the Anti-Militarist Propaganda.

Nationalities were present: Bohemia 2, Germany 1, Switzerland 1, Italy 1 (more were to come, but were not permited to enter France), Russia 1, England 6, Spain 2, Holland 4, Belgium 1, America 5, and a large number of delegates from all parts of France. Letters were received from Sweden, Norway, Bulgaria, Greece, Argentine Republic, and other parts of the world.

"Anarchy is dead," we are continually told; but it does not seem so from the above reports and persons attending the Congress, does it? And when we take into consideration that those who were in favor of the Congress taking place at all, were but a few in comparison with the large number who were against it, then we can say that Anarchism lives indeed, in spite of all persecutions, imprisonments, and laws against us. Yes, the Congress was suppressed; and a few comrades had to suffer on account of it: Libertas, the one I already mentioned, and Nino Samaja expelled, maybe others to follow; but the work for the Congress lives, and will bear fruit.

In conclusion, I must not forget to mention the contemptible part the Socialist papers, *La Petite Republique*, the journal of Millerand, and the *Petit Sou*, the journal of the Marxists, have played. The *Petite Republique* at first ignored the suppression entirely; and when it took notice, it was only to throw slurs upon the organizers, in saying that the Congress was not suppressed at all, but that the story was invented by ourselves; and when the worthy editors were asked how they dared to act like that, they answered: "Do you think we are going to give the Marxists a weapon against us, by defending the Anarchists?" No comment necessary to such detestable behavior, is there? The *Petit Sou* at first also said that the Congress was not suppressed. Some of our comrades telephoned to the ministry to inquire, and were told the order stands. When they were asked why the order was issued, they replied, "It is our pleasure." Enough reason for a Socialistic ministry, think you? The *Petit Sou* has since denounced the suppression, not because its editors are in favor of the Anarchists, but because they are having a fight with the Millerand-Jaures gang, and anything that is likely to serve the purpose of politicians is employed, even defending Anarchists, although only a short time ago, these politicians, Guesdes at their head, caused the arrest and sentence to hard labor of comrade G. Lorion, who died in prison. Lorion having fled from Paris, happened to be at a meeting in which Guesdes denounced him as a police spy; and although he knew that he must not come forward, risked arrest, and defended himself publicly. So you see that our Socialist "friends" are ready to help the police against us one moment, and defend us the next, if it is beneficial to their own petty game. However, I hardly think we need their defence. We shall carry on our work ceaselessly and tirelessly; for we are working in a beautiful cause. E. GOLDMAN.

Paris, France, September 25.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

For St. Louis, Mo.

Thirteenth anniversary in honor of the Chicago martyrs, to be held on Saturday, November 10, 1900, at 8 o'clock P. M., at Neumeyers Hall, Eighth St. and Lafayette Ave. Admission 10 cents, to be paid at the door.

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BY C. L JAMES.

SUBJECTS OF LESSONS.

1. Origins of Political, Economic, and Religious Authority.
2. Softening of Authority by Culture.
3. Civil Government the Stay of Remaining Authority and Barbarism.
4. Freedom Stimulates; Authority Depresses Civilization.
5. Government not needed for Protection against Violence.
6. Belief in Government Essentially Superstitious.
7. Science the Remedy for Superstition.
8. Progress in the Right Direction.
9. The Anarchist Movement in History.
10. Anarchism not Dependent on any Metaphysical System.
11. A Peril to Anarchism, The Movement in Favor of Ignorance.
12. Anarchism and Personal Conduct.

LESSON III.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT THE STAY OF REMAINING TYRANNY AND BARBARISM.

The Subject in General: Bakunin, *God and the State;* Proudhon, *What is Property?* Marx, *Capital, Chap. Capital and Wage Labor.*

Rent.—George, *Progress and Poverty;* Dove, *Theory of Progression, Political Science;* Quesnay, in series *Principaux Economistes;* Ricardo, *Political Economy.*

Profit.—Marx, *Capital.*

Interest (its true origin).—Bentham, *Defence of Usury,* (Dependence of upon scarcity and therefore monopoly); Josiah Warren, *Equitable Commerce;* Lum, *Economics of Anarchy;* Hanson, *Fallacies in Progress and Poverty.*

Fallacy of Governmental Socialism.—Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations;* Herbert Spencer, *Over Legislation,* and *The Coming Slavery;* Encyclopedia Britannica, article *Socialism and Communism.*

Impossibilities of Voluntary Communism in a Bourgeois World — Noyes, *History of American Socialism;* Encyclopedia, articles *Owen, Robert,* and *Socialism, International.*

Practical Failure of Attempts at Equitable Organization Under Government.—Rae, *Contemporary Socialism;* Laveleye, *Socialism of Today;* Ely, *French and German Socialism,* and *Problems of Today with Labor Movement in America;* Woods, *English Social Movements;* Gide, *Political Economy;* Gilman, *Profit Sharing;* McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times;* Howell, *Conflicts of Labor and Capital;* Dawson, *Bismarck and State Socialism;* Bismarck, *Autobiography;* Roscher, *Political Economy.*

LESSON IV.

FREEDOM STIMULATES; AUTHORITY DEPRESSES CIVILIZATION.

The Subject in General: Herbert Spencer, *Descriptive Sociology, Principles of Sociology, Social Statics;* Encyclopedia Britannica, articles *Government* and *Law.*

Ruin of Civilizations by Slavery.—Rawlinson's *Egypt, Chaps. XX-XXVI;* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vols. I-III;* Michelet, *History of France,* (early portion); Mommsen, *History of Rome, Vol. II., Chaps. XI, XII, Vol. III, Chap. XI, Vol. IV, Chap. XI;* Revival following emancipation, U. S. Census Southern States, 1860-1890.

Depression by Serfdom and Progress After Emancipation.—Hallam, *Middle Ages;* Maitland, *The Dark Ages.*

Depression by Caste.—Monier Williams, *Hinduism;* Hawthorne (Julian), *Papers on India* in the *Cosmopolitan* of 1897.

Depression by Personal Influence of a System Founder.—Encyclopedia Britannica, article *China;* Douglas, *Confucianism and Taoism.*

Depression by Religious Authority.—Buckle, *Civilization;* White, *Warfare of Science with Theology.*

Depression by Monopolies. — Smith, *Wealth of Nations;* parsimony is practised to buy into monopolies,—Proudhon, *What is Property?*

Depression by Parsimony.—Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (portion relating to "Jewtown," New York). Capital created by invention not parsimony.—Beckerman, *History of Invention;* Whewell, *History of the Inductive Sciences.*

Luxury of Producers the Source of Wealth.—Bonar's *Malthus.*—Banks not supplied chiefly by "savings," but by trade-balances,—Encyclopedia Britannica, article *Savings Banks.*—Credit serves every purpose of money, Encyclopedia Britannica, articles *Law, Political Economy;* Mill on *Paper Currency* in *Political Economy.*

Depression by Sex Slavery and Revival by Freedom of Women.—Lecky, *History of Morals, History of Rationalism;* Jacobi, *Woman's Suffrage.*

Miscellaneous Illustrations of the Ill Effects of "Strong Government," and Blessings of Liberal Forms. — Abbot, *French Revolution,* and *Life of Napoleon* (popular and inaccurate, but enough for the purpose); *Our Country,* in Horace Greeley's *American Conflict;* Macaulay on *History,* on *Mitford's Greece,* on *Hallam, Machiavelli, Mackintosh, Southey, Frederick the Great, Earl Chatham.*

Tyranny of a Red Republic.—Macaulay on *Wm. Pitt* (in Encyclopedia Britannica) and on *Barere.* See also Merivale's *Romans,* Chaps. XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXIX, XLI, XLIV, LX, LXVII, LXVIII.

(Those who have time for so much reading will find a severe but hardly unjust criticism on republican tyranny through Mitford's *Greece,* and met by equally powerful strictures on monarchy and aristocracy in Grote. This pot and-kettle business is very amusing to Anarchists. Benefits of Expropriation, see U. S. Census, cit.; above works on histories of revolutions; Green's *English People,* Book VI.)

CHORDS.

Gen. Otis' literary style is as blunt as his conscience. Explaining the necessity for retaining the Philippines, he sums up his answer in Leslie's Weekly in this sentence:

"If we ask a reason for their retention, we have only to refer to the great richness of the Islands."

"If you didn't mean to steal the gold you took," asked the judge of the unfortunate, "why did you keep it?" The prisoner replied: "Because, sir, gold is valuable."—Chicago Public.

"The land of the free and the home of the brave," as applied to America, is prophetic; it does not characterize the United States in its present industrial, social, and political affairs. If it is asserted that this is "the land of the free," when millions are enslaved and impoverished; or "the home of the brave," when the nation overflows with moral cowards; then the assertion contradicts the most palpable facts of the modern world.—The Flaming Sword.

Some people teach that poverty is the result of idleness. Most of those who teach this false idea live in idleness, off the products of the to l of those who live in poverty. It pays some people to teach that poverty is the result of idleness. No wonder some such endow colleges where such false ideas are propagated.—The New Light.

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